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IN DARKEST EUROPE

Austria-Hungary's Effort to Exterminate Her Jugoslav Subjects

Speeches and Questions in the Parliaments
of Vienna and Budapest and in the Croatian
Sabor (Diet) in Zagreb (Agram).

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SERBO-CROATO-SLOVENIAN ORTHOGRAPHY

š = sh in "ship"

č = ch in "church"

ć = ditto (softer)

c = ts in "cats"

j = y in "your"

ž = j in French "jour"

INTRODUCTION

AUSTRO-MAGYAR JUDICIAL CRIMES. Persecutions of the Jugoslavs. Political trials, 1908-1916. With a preface by William Joynson-Hicks, M.P. London, 1916. pp. 94.

L'AUTRICHE-HONGRIE EN GUERRE CONTRE SES SUJETS. Pierre de Lanux et Milan Toplica. Edition spéciale de "La Revue Hebdomadaire." Paris, 1915. pp. 37.

LE RÉGIME POLITIQUE D'AUTRICHE-HONGRIE EN BOSNIE-HERZÉGOVINE ET LES PROCÈS DE HAUTE TRAHISON. Par un Groupe d'Hommes Politiques Yougoslaves.

LES PERSÉCUTIONS DES YOUNGOSLAVES. Procès politiques (1908-1916). Avant-propos de Victor Berard. Paris, 1916. pp. 95.

CEUX DONT ON IGNORE LE MARTYRE. Les Jugoslaves et la guerre. Dr. Victor Kuhne. Genève, 1917. pp. 295.

In these unassuming little pamphlets are revealed the monstrous sufferings of a nation, difficult to parallel even in this general slaughter of mankind. Besides the reports of trials, they contain, set down without phrases or exaggerations, statements of bare facts and matter-of-fact documents which admit of no doubt, as they are derived either from enemy sources or from the Press of the subject nationalities, which has to run the gauntlet of the enemy censorship. These pamphlets clearly show that their authors did not know all that has happened over there since the beginning of the war, yet even that which they have to tell is sufficient to fill the soul of every decent man or woman with horror. These docu-

ments say with brutal frankness that the House of Habsburg and its Germano-Magyar domain, Austria-Hungary, is not merely making war upon an independent Jugoslav policy, but waging a war of extermination against the Jugoslavs themselves, a war which is being conducted with savage and implacable hatred against all that is Jugoslav.

But all that we learn from these documents is utterly outdone by the horrors of the facts recorded in the speeches of the Jugoslav national representatives in Vienna, Budapest, and Zagreb. After the Russian Revolution Austria, too, desired to pose as a constitutional State, and so, after an interval of three years, Parliament was convoked in Vienna. The Jugoslav deputies seized upon this opportunity to expose the sufferings of their peoples. After this the Jugoslav deputies in Budapest and Zagreb could also venture to bring up the subject. From these speeches we see only too plainly that the ferocity of the Austro-Magyar ruling powers against the Jugoslavs has gone so far that they no longer trouble or seek to shelter themselves behind a mask of legal formality, but are indulging in an orgy in which every bestial instinct is given unbridled licence.

Unfortunately, these speeches have not been published in full. When the Vienna Parliament opened, a special Parliamentary censorship was instituted. Besides this, all parliamentary speeches were subject to the Press censorship as well, so much so that the Ljubljana paper *Slovenski Narod* of June 18th thought fit to say to its readers : " Let no one imagine that we can learn the truth about the speeches in Parliament from the newspapers." The censorship only passed just as much as was considered necessary to provide the national discomfort and exasperation with some sort of a safety-valve. But it has certainly

not permitted the Jugoslav Press to report the most brutal atrocities of the official terrorism, not even in the indirect form of a parliamentary speech. As for the Vienna Press, it systematically suppresses these indictments. And so even to-day we do not know everything. We know a good deal, however, and a knowledge of these horrors ought to be brought as soon as possible before the British public, which possesses so high a sense of justice and humanity.

The most powerful indictment of the Austro-Magyar official policy of extermination against the Jugoslavs has undoubtedly been put forward by the Croat Deputy from Dalmatia, Dr. Tresić Pavičić, part of whose speech, delivered on October 19th in the Vienna Parliament, forms the second part of this booklet. It is a great pity that only the first half of the speech is known. The Croatian paper *Novosti* published the first instalments of Dr. Ante Tresić Pavičić's speech on October 24th and 25th. But already on October 26th the paper announced that the censorship had forbidden the further publication of the speech. Reading through what was passed by the Censor, we can only conjecture what the suppressed part of the speech must have been.

Dr. Tresić Pavičić has caused a veritable sensation in the British Press. The revolting acts disclosed in his speech have been most justly described by the British Press as "Austrian atrocities" and "Austrian horrors." Dr. Tresić Pavičić's speech has been published more or less in full by the following papers :—

The Times, November 23rd. "Austrian Reign of Terror."

Morning Post, November 14th. "Austrian Atrocities."

Daily Chronicle, November 23rd. "Austria's War of Extermination."

The Globe, November 23rd. "Extermination of Jugoslavs."

Manchester Guardian, November 23rd. "Austrian Atrocities."¹¹

The New Europe, No. 57. "How Austria-Hungary treats the Jugoslavs."¹²

The Evening News, November 14th. "War of Extermination against the Serbs."¹³

Daily News, November 14th. "Austrian Cruelty to the Slavs."¹⁴

Morning Advertiser, November 23rd. "Austrian Prison Horrors."¹⁵

Pall Mall Gazette.

Daily Mirror, and several other papers.

Truly the British Press has in this case been true to its great traditions and high ethical principles.

But as even a frank policy of persecution did not prove swift enough in bringing about the desired goal, Austria-Hungary's official policy has hit upon the plan of starving out the Jugoslavs. In Bosnia, Hercegovina, Dalmatia, and Istria the population is already dying of hunger. As Croatia and Slavonia are in rather a better position as regards food, the Croatian Sabor decided last summer that any available surplus should in the first place be sent to the above-mentioned provinces. According to authentic information derived through the Jugoslav colony in Geneva, 200 railway trucks were loaded in Zagreb last September with foodstuffs for Dalmatia. At the last moment the consignment was by a Government order diverted to Vienna. To the vehement protests of the Dalmatians a highly placed German official in Vienna brutally replied: "We Germans come first." And in reply to the resolution of the Croatian Sabor, Croatia was proclaimed a war zone at the instance of the Military High Command, all foodstuffs being thereby placed at the disposal of the military authorities.

The Austro-Magyars hope that, in so far as the Jugo-

slavs are not absolutely annihilated by this persecution, they will at least be cured for ever of all nationalist ideals. But the opposite has resulted. True, the Jugoslavs suffer as no other nation has done, but the national conscience and the national solidarity has never been shaken. This is also borne out by these speeches, which clearly show that the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes feel every calamity, no matter which of the Jugoslav lands is stricken by it, as a common national misfortune, and that they are unanimous in their desire to free themselves from their Germano-Magyar oppressors.

The whole world knows by this time in what savage and barbarous fashion Austria-Hungary conducted the war against Serbia and Montenegro. She herself called this war a "punitive expedition," and disregarded all international and moral law by doing all in her power to exterminate the Serbs in those ill-fated lands whose only crime is that they are free Jugoslav States bordering upon Austria-Hungary. But the atrocities revealed in these speeches and the above-mentioned pamphlets do not refer to Serbia and Montenegro. *They represent a second war, one which Austria-Hungary is waging against her own subjects, her own Jugoslav citizens, a war of extermination against all Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes whom ill fate has on former occasions brought into the Austro-Hungarian Empire and under the Habsburg rule.* From the very outbreak of the war, *she has looked upon all Jugoslav lands as enemy territory*, and has dealt with them as she later on dealt with Serbia and Montenegro after she had conquered them. And in such of the Jugoslav lands as lie nearest to the frontier of Serbia and Montenegro her brutalities and atrocities have been most outrageous of all. Austria-Hungary hanged and shot her citizens, cast them into prison, and carried them off as hostages ; she

interned, expropriated, deported, and starved them to death by the thousand, not only grown men, but women, children, and old men. She ravaged extensive Jugoslav regions which were so unfortunate as to be under the Habsburg sovereigns. Especially in Bosnia and Hercegovina—which she annexed by fraud—she inaugurated an official reign of terror, such as these hapless provinces had not experienced even at the hands of the Turks, nor during the darkest days of the Turkish domination. By these abominable acts Austria-Hungary has definitely cut herself off from the community of civilized States.

PASSAGES FROM VARIOUS SPEECHES

One of the sittings of the Vienna Parliament devoted to the Debate on the Budget in June was employed by the Slovene Deputy, Dr. Vladimir Ravnihar, to expose the sufferings of the Jugoslavs. We quote the following passage from his speech as reported in the Ljubljana paper, Slavenski Narod, of June 6th.

IN this war our Jugoslav nation has received the martyr's crown at the hands of the German bureaucracy. Hundreds of our people are interned and imprisoned, our officials are deported abroad. A hint from the German Volksrat, the denunciation of a spy, is sufficient—and neither protest, nor explanation, nor appeal is of any use. Homes are broken up, husbands are torn from their wives, mothers from their children; they are driven off into captivity, and thousands of people are exposed to extreme misery and utter ruin; and to this day thousands of our wretched countrymen do not even know why they are being persecuted.

The next speaker after Dr. Ravnihar was Deputy Dr. Matko Laginja, Croat, from Istria. He, too, on his part, drew attention to the sufferings of the Jugoslavs in the following words :—

Before touching upon any other subject, it is my sacred duty to draw attention to the terrible position in which our people are everywhere suffering beyond all measure;

Lika, Dalmatia, Istria, and the Kras districts of the littoral and Carniola are utterly ruined : the population is dying, and what is left of their cattle is perishing of hunger. Everybody, both fit and unfit for military service, is drafted into the army. Numbers of women, old men, and children have been expelled from their homes ; all foodstuffs which were in the first place urgently needed for the population have been requisitioned for other purposes, as unfortunately we are in the immediate vicinity of vast bodies of men (the armies on the Italian front) which likewise must be fed. And thus this terrible war has brought about a repetition of what has so often happened before, viz. that the southern regions suffer immeasurably more than the central, and that the demands made upon our people are greatly in excess of what is fair, and, indeed, in excess of what they can bear. For years and years already a deaf ear has been turned to all our complaints, suggestions, and appeals. Where our people is concerned, a soulless official bureaucracy is permitted to pursue a policy pernicious alike to the people and the Government, representing conditions in our country as tolerable and even good, whereas in reality they are so bad that they could not be worse. (*Hrvatska Riječ*, of Zagreb, June 6th.)

Mgr. Dr. Anton Korošec, President of the Jugoslav Club in the Vienna Parliament, described the persecution of the Jugoslavs as follows in his speech of June 16th :—

This war has brought bitter disillusionments to the Slovene people, the consequences of which may prove incalculable. From the outset of the war, both the civil and military authorities have oppressed the Slovene people in every conceivable way. . . . The chief motive

in this persecution is the hatred for our race which flourishes even among the ruling powers. The hatred has assumed the most sinister aspects. . . . If our nation does not attain full satisfaction there will be the risk of a fatal estrangement between it and the responsible powers. Our people, which has hitherto been docile as a lamb, will not suffer itself to be exterminated without resistance. The authorities have been guilty of innumerable acts of tyranny against us during the war. Only a few of these have been made public; only in a very few cases have appeals been made, only to be pigeon-holed; but our people feels this tyranny in its soul, and will never forget it. We come upon victims of this tyranny at every step. With defiance in their eyes and bitterness in their hearts, many still carry the sense of the fetid air of their prison about with them. . . . No sooner had the war broken out than the systematic persecution of the Slovenes began. . . . They looked for traitors in our lands, and for spies whom they needed in order to prove that it was necessary to proceed in our lands as though they were enemy country. . . . The gendarmerie and the police compiled a black list of politically unreliable elements, so-called. These are persons who have failed to conceal their national sentiments, and are therefore obnoxious to some of the powers that be. . . . Thus the Deputy Roškar was handed over to the Military Court in Graz, because the gendarmerie had without any cause denounced him as a Serbophil. . . . Other deputies have been accused of conspiracy against the State on the strength of the most puerile inventions. This persecution was directed chiefly against notable persons, such as priests, etc. Hundreds of victims have been haled to prison, and on their way thither exposed to the insults and outrages of the infuriated mob; they were treated

beforehand like convicted traitors. In Maribor and other towns organizations have actually been founded for providing false evidence, and the authorities have not shrunk from making use of them. . . . It has been proved that with few exceptions the political authorities have not merely observed a passive attitude towards this revolting business, but have even supported this persecution by their attitude. . . . The outbreak of the war was the signal for an intolerable Germanization of the Civil Service and the Railways. Espionage was in full swing ; every official who thought and felt nationally as a Slovene might at any moment expect to be denounced as politically unreliable. The black gang of officialdom organized a reign of terror, with the help of anonymous informers, the German *Volksrat* and the German National societies. . . . This persecution has driven the Slovenes to the wrath of despair, but the authorities hermetically sealed every valve that might have provided an outlet for this bitterness. Appeals and complaints remained unheeded, except in so far as they brought down fresh persecution upon him who dared to complain. All free utterance of thought was stifled. The Slovene Press has been muzzled, and the censorship has been revelling in an orgy of twaddle. . . . These are merely the main outlines of actual conditions in the south of the Monarchy. Slovenes of all classes are filled with boundless bitterness towards the ruling powers and the authors of these hardships ; the exasperation against these wrongs will be handed down for generations, because in craftiness, in ruthlessness, and in inhuman cruelty they exceed even the greatest tyranny ever inflicted upon the Slovene people. (*Slovenski Narod*, of Ljubljana, June 20th.)

Dr. Korošec spoke again in the Vienna Parliament on June 26th, when he exposed the terror endured by the Jugoslavs at the beginning of the war.

The wounds of our nation are deep and cruel, a sea of blood and tears has flooded our Jugoslav lands. From Bosnia and Hercegovina ever more despairing cries for help reach us, the cries of a ruthlessly persecuted people. Many regions of our beautiful native lands have been laid waste, and left almost without human habitations, and with dread and anxiety we look forward to the future. Wrong and injustice have accompanied our Croato-Slovene history down to these latter days. Shivering with misery, Dalmatia looks to see who will save her from tyranny, famine, and political persecution. Throughout rockbound Istria, Famine and her sister—Death—are reaping a rich harvest owing to the criminal neglect of the authorities. In Carinthia the abolition of all national political rights is added to all other sufferings and horrors. (The *Slovenec*, of Ljubljana, June 28th.)

An exceptionally strong speech on the Jugoslav persecutions was made in the Vienna Parliament on June 28th by the Deputy Dr. Otokar Ribar, Slovene, from Trieste. He incidentally sharply denounced the ferocious tyranny of the Bulgars in the occupied districts of Serbia. Dr. Ribar said :—

We Jugoslavs were surely a warlike nation until very recently owing to circumstances and the course of our history. But we have shed enough blood, enough for ourselves and for others. . . . No one has been hit harder by the horrors of war than we Jugoslavs. The Polish and Ukrainian towns still stand, and are more full of life and activity than before the war. But go to the Balkans, to Bosnia, Hercegovina, and Dalmatia, and you

will see how in several once-flourishing districts whole towns and villages have been laid utterly in ruins. And this was not done because the exigencies of war demanded it. Nay, far worse. Our own authorities have wilfully ravaged our country ; they have raged against everything bearing the Slav name, and that in such fashion that Europe has not seen the like since the battle of Kossovo. Since Kossovo our nation has not seen nor experienced such a catastrophe. Our unhappy nation is banished ; from some districts the very children, women, and old men have been driven off into slavery as in the olden times the Romans and Greeks used to carry off the populations of the lands they had conquered. From the neighbourhood of Niš alone the Bulgars have deported 30,000 of our people to the deserts of Asia Minor. It is a war of annihilation and extermination that is being waged against us. Therefore we appeal to our Government and also to the Governments of the Entente, praying that in the interest of the preservation of the Jugoslav race they may put an end to this fury and bloodshed. The Entente Powers say that they are fighting to save Serbia. Serbia they may perhaps save, but not the Serbs nor the Jugoslavs, for there will be none left of them to rejoice in the blessings of peace. (*Slovenec* and *Slovenski Narod*, June 30th.)

The following horrible incidents were disclosed by Dr. Ivan Benković, Slovène, in the Vienna Parliament on July 3rd :—

A year before the world-war a German national deputy asked in the Styrian Provincial Diet : “ Who will guarantee that, in a serious contingency ” (here he was thinking of the possibility of war) “ we shall not find that by crossing the Drave we shall have entered enemy territory ? ”

This remark was levelled at the "Jugoslav propaganda." The words are a clear proof of the spirit of denunciation which flourishes among our countrymen of the other nationality, with whom the habit of spying and laying information has become bred in the bone. The standpoint indicated in these words is the standpoint of the ruling powers of that time, to whom the Jugoslav soul was always a foreign thing. . . . In 1914 they persecuted everybody who was suspected of national sentiment. To be a Slovene nationalist was considered tantamount to being a Serbophil. I have with my own eyes read through a whole list of intimations in which it was adduced as a proof of high treason that the person in question was a rabid nationalist and therefore a Serbophil. . . . The military prisons were crowded with innocent victims. The local authorities were powerless. Not a finger did they raise in protest against these disgraceful proceedings ; but as for the innocent victims, *they* were during their transport exposed to the insults of the street mob, which beat them and pelted them with stones. At that time an abyss opened between ourselves and our countrymen of different race (the Germans). This abyss can no longer be bridged over. And here I will mention the words said to me at that terrible time by the late Military Commandant in Graz. Even if he was imperfectly acquainted with the contents of the information, or if he was not certain whether the information was well founded or not, he expressed himself as follows : " Every one who takes the part of these people is equally suspect in my eyes." If these were the views entertained in high quarters, it was certainly no wonder if the gendarmes and lesser officials did as they chose, that they ruthlessly persecuted everything that went by the name of Slovene or Croat. . . .

Gentlemen, speaking of the psychology of war, I will mention one out of countless cases. It is significant in that it shows how little value is set upon human life. It happened at the beginning of the war, beside the Danube, on the Serbian frontier. There stood a detachment of gendarmes under the command of a lieutenant, who had orders to watch the inhabitants in case they harboured treasonable intentions. One day smoke was seen to arise from a village on the Danube. The commandant assumed that it was a signal to the Serbian army. He gave orders for the whole population of the village to be assembled in order to discover the culprit. The whole village assembled—men, women, children, and all. By order of the lieutenant the parish clerk had to point out, first those who in his opinion were innocent, then those who to the best of his knowledge were unreliable, and finally those who in his opinion were positively suspect. Hereupon the lieutenant dismissed those whom the clerk had pointed out as innocent. They were none but children and old men. The persons whom the clerk had pointed out as unreliable were sent off to internment camps, and those who were pointed out as suspect were brought up before a court-martial. But before this was done, the lieutenant asked the clerk whom he considered the most suspect among those suspects. The clerk pointed out three men. The lieutenant handed them over to a sergeant, gave him a sign, and these men were never seen again. It was subsequently stated and is now known that they were all three killed in a neighbouring wood by the sergeant and some of his men, without trial and without sentence. There can be no question of psychology of war in this case ; it was a case of giving rein to the lowest and basest instincts. Gentlemen, these are not simply words. This incident is vouched for by a large number of trustworthy

witnesses. (*Slovenski Narod* of July 10th, and *Slovenec* of July 11th.)

Deputy Dr. Korošec spoke in the Budget Committee of the Vienna Parliament on July 5th, when he dealt chiefly with the persecution of the Slovene Catholic clergy :—

On August 6, 1914, the Provincial Governor of Carinthia, Skene, sent for Kita, diocesan clerk of the then vacant diocese of Celovec (Klagenfurt), in order to obtain information which would be useful to him in taking proceedings against the Slovene clergy in Carinthia. He said that he intended to proceed most rigorously against the Slovene priests on account of their Serbophilism. He requested the clerk to help him, as he would thereby render the position of the new Bishop far less difficult by making it easier for him to crush the Slovene clergy. Skene declared that he would have the Slovene priests arrested and locked up and taken to prison in broad daylight under an escort of gendarmes with fixed bayonets. Let them go to prison, although nothing further should come of it. Skene certainly did not speak in this way without a hint "from above." And Skene was surely not the only recipient of such hints. Hereby the doors were thrown open to denunciation, and the prosecution of innocent people for national reasons or out of private spite proceeded unchecked. Ražun, the parish priest of St. Jakob's in Carinthia, was imprisoned.

When police officer Spitzer came to his house he told the priest that he was arresting him "for notable political activity." And while Ražun was in prison, it was suggested to the School Board that the Slovene school, which was conducted by Ražun, should be amalgamated with the German school.

Dr. Korošec further mentioned the arrest of the parish priest Meško, the distinguished Slovene author, and various similar cases in Lower Styria and Carinthia.

As Imperial Commissioner, Skene later on behaved in Trst (Trieste) exactly as he had done in Carinthia. There, too, people were prosecuted for political and personal reasons. Upon the outbreak of war with Italy, many Government officials moved to Voloska, in Istria, among them sundry German officials with their families. About twenty children were of an age to attend the gymnasium (secondary school). It was obviously necessary to provide a German gymnasium for this score or so of German boys in a Croatian locality. But how were they to obtain a German gymnasium when there was already an exceedingly well-managed Croatian Real-Gymnasium (modern secondary school) in the place? It would have to be abolished. The headmaster and many of the assistant masters of the Croatian school were locked up, and the matter was decided to the satisfaction of the Germans. (*Slovenec*, July 7th.)

In an interpellation in the Coatian Diet on July 12th, Stjepan Radić, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, cited the following facts :—

Our prisons are always packed with political offenders, both convicted and accused. I have to travel a good deal on business, and so have the opportunity of getting at the truth in some terrible cases.

People are thrust into prison regardless of age or sex, not excepting the peasant class. I recently had an opportunity of hearing and seeing for myself how women and girls have been sentenced to two, three, four, and five years' imprisonment for a mere word, and the sus-

picion that they had spoken in favour of Russia or Serbia—and these were people from Lika and Banja, mind you. . . . There were also many unlettered peasants, many of our people, Serbs from Srem, about whom I said to his Excellency the Ban already at the beginning of the war, that their sympathies were altogether different, that they were Serbs who had come to Croatia and Hungary under their Patriarch and with their intellectual leaders, as a civilized people, upon the invitation of a great Christian sovereign ; that they had not come as refugees or a horde of savages, but the flower of the Serbian nation, which, when the kingdom of Serbia rose anew, assisted the latter in the whole development of its internal culture and civilization, and, indeed, created it to such an extent that the Serbs who live in Srem (Syrmia) and the Banat even for this reason look upon Serbia as *their* State, seeing that they too have helped in its internal construction. If we take this ethical factor into account, then for me, as a political man, there simply is not and cannot be any high treason in Srem. . . . Radić added, moreover, that his party, according to its programme, looks upon Serbia as its national State. (From the Zagreb paper *Dom*, July 19th.)

Deputy Juraj Biankini, Croat, from Dalmatia, dealt chiefly with the persecution in Dalmatia and adduced striking proofs of the ill-treatment of the Jugoslavs :—

The most important convoy of persons deported from Dalmatia was transported via Rijeka (Fiume) to Budapest, and thence via Pragerhof to Maribor (Marburg). The convoy, which travelled under a strong military escort, included four deputies in the Vienna Parliament, five deputies in the Dalmatian Diet, sixteen priests, both

Catholic and Orthodox, seventeen advocates and notaries, five doctors and one lady doctor, thirty-three business men and bankers, seven journalists, sixteen officials, thirty-two men of independent means, twelve students, several young girls and women (two of the latter with infants in arms), and more than two hundred peasants. All these people were herded like cattle into the coaches under the threat that any one who should leave his place in the train for even a minute would be shot. They were three days and four nights on the way to Maribor. During the whole of this journey these unfortunate people were only once given food. But in the place of food they received other attentions. At every station, especially in Hungary, the poor wretches were insulted and attacked. Often their very lives were in danger. Many of them could not endure these terrible scenes and lost their reason. One of them sought to put an end to his journey by throwing himself out of the window and was killed. The exiles arrived in Maribor famished, half-dead with thirst and with cruelly swollen feet. Many of them were unable to walk, and had to be carried to the prison. Some of them were locked up in cells for soldiers, and others were thrust into the stables of the artillery barracks, where they had to sleep in the mud and on rotten straw. Within a short time two of these unfortunate people died. For many months these martyrs suffered endless misery in the prisons of Maribor, without ever being brought to trial. . . . The fate of those who were imprisoned in Maribor was appalling, but infinitely more appalling were the sufferings of those who were imprisoned in the fortresses. Three thousand four hundred interned Bosnians have died in Arad, not counting those who were imprisoned in the various fortresses round Kotor (Cattaro). . . . It would be interesting to know how the Govern-

ment intends to justify these palpable crimes against its own native subjects. We herewith raise our voices here and declare that the Government can never justify what has happened, and that the arrests, the taking of hostages, and the gallows upon which so many Dalmatians have ended their lives, will constitute the greatest blot upon this State, and its unexampled disgrace. . . .

Dr. Biankini concluded by reading a letter from a Dalmatian working man, interned at Sitzendorf, near Oberhochlabrunn, in which the unfortunate man described the sufferings of himself and his comrades from starvation and ill-usage, and begged that they might either be released or shot. (From the Zagreb paper *Novine*, July 21st.)

Deputy Dr. Srdjan Budisavljević, Serb, speaking in the Croatian Diet on August 1st, spoke as follows concerning the persecution of the Serbs :—

When the war broke out, the prisons were filled to overflowing with Serbs from Zemun (Semlin) to Zrmanja.¹ The brand of suspicion fell upon the Serbian officials. Serbian houses were ransacked and demolished. Serbs have been massacred and hanged without judge or judgment. I raise a most bitter protest against these atrocities. (From the Zagreb paper, *Novosti*, August 2nd.)

In a speech in the Vienna Parliament on October 2nd, Deputy Dr. Vladimir Ravnihar attacked the Austrian policy and bureaucracy, and incidentally referred to the persecution of the Jugoslavs :—

Once we gave you the chance of curing this sick body

¹ I.e., from the Danube to the Adriatic.

politic (Austria) by the prescription of national equality for all its peoples. You refused this kind of physic. Good! But from henceforth you cannot hinder us from thinking first of all of our own salvation. *Sacro egoismo.* As for the State Idea, which begins by demanding our slavery, the eternal subjection of our peoples to the domination of foreign peoples, resting upon the partitioning of our national territorial heritage, which might have been the scene of intellectual, material, and political progress . . . that State Idea is one which we fail to understand.

. . . And at the head of this criminal policy we see the Austrian Government with its powerful German bureaucracy. But if formerly this bureaucracy went to work more or less discreetly, it suddenly at the beginning of the war dropped the mask from its face and revealed its features, distorted with hate and wickedness, to us Austrian Slavs. To this bureaucracy, the favoured child of the Austrian Government, we must ascribe all the hideous and savage persecution in this war. It has all the internments, imprisonments, "p.v."¹ marks, with all that they entail, upon its conscience. It established a Bloody Assizes both at the front and behind it. In those days a fresh grave was dug in Ljubljana to which we have given the name of one of these bureaucrats in uniform . . . (fifty-two lines excised). The massacres in Bosnia, Serbia, and Galicia were carried out by this bureaucracy. And after all this it has the hardihood to permit that official photographs of these bloody deeds are taken and reproduced on postcards, which are sent all over the world. I can show you some of these pictures. Terrible accusations have been brought forward in this very House; the names are known and the criminals have been indicated. But have we yet heard that the crimes of these

¹ "p.v.," *politisch verdächtig* (politically unreliable).

people have been punished, or that they have been called to answer for them ? (Deputy Dr. Tresić : "They have been decorated !") Yes ; they have been decorated and promoted ! (From the *Slovenski Narod*, October 3rd.)

Deputy Dr. Otokar Rybar delivered another great speech on October 2nd, attacking the policy of the Austrian Germans and again exposing the systematic persecution of the Jugoslavs. In this speech he referred to the remarkable case of a Slovene Catholic teacher of divinity, who was prosecuted for having forbidden his pupils to say "Gott strafe England." Dr. Rybar said :—

How is it with us in war-time ? Already before the war our people felt this oppression and contempt on the part of the Germans. And then came the war. And then happened what scarcely redounds to the honour of the German people. . . . Most especially we blame the Germans for this, viz. that their intellectual classes have permitted themselves to be used as spies and informers, and in this respect the educated Germans in our country did not differ from their countrymen elsewhere. Teachers, officials, business men, etc., spied upon their neighbours, their friends, and denounced them. Gentlemen, I could give you hundreds and hundreds of cases, but I will confine myself to mentioning only one, from which you may see to what lengths all this has gone. At a certain German school a Slovene held the appointment of teacher of divinity ; but you need not for one moment imagine that he was in the least a rabid Jugoslav nationalist. No ; friends of mine who know him very well assure me that he inclines to the view which would deprecate the national element in politics. He was simply a Catholic priest and nothing else ; a Catholic

priest of Slovene origin, and not a national chauvinist in any sense in which the term is applied in our country to every individual possessing any national consciousness. When, at the beginning of the war, a kind of fanaticism seized upon everybody, so that people greeted each other in the streets with "*Gott strafe England*," he considered it his duty as a Catholic priest to point out to his pupils that such a greeting was ill-mannered and unchristian, and he bade them not to say "*Gott strafe England*," but "*God have mercy upon us, miserable sinners*," since before God we are all sinners. For these words, whereby he only meant to express the Catholic ideal, he was suspended pending the proceedings which were taken against him. He was imprisoned and is still suspended. Do you know, gentlemen, how his remarks came to be known? His friends had informed against him—his friends, as in so many other cases in Gorica (Gorizia), Southern Styria, Carinthia, etc. This is the saddest thing we have experienced in this war, and it is not to be wondered at if a feeling of bitterness has remained within us, if a feeling of hate has grown up in our nation, such as exists, as you know, against the Germans throughout the world now, simply because they displayed these idiosyncrasies among foreign nations. . . . (From the *Slovenski Narod*, October 12th.)

An interpellation was submitted in the Croatian Diet on October 31st by the Deputy Ivan Kovačević, Croat, of the Starčević Party, referring to the promotion of certain officials who had distinguished themselves in persecuting the Serbs. He quoted the following instance :—

There was a certain parish clerk who, in this capacity, rendered himself guilty of sundry derelictions. Incident-

ally, it was his business to persecute the Serbs and to fill the prisons with innocent victims. He had them locked up, and not in a single case was one of them brought to trial, nor were any of the cases inquired into. Not the most implacable aga of the old Turkish days was ever guilty of such spiteful tyranny as this notary in his commune. While the men were at the war he committed outrages upon their womenfolk with the assistance of armed forces. In some cases he had the men imprisoned for high treason, and then he took gendarmes, attacked the wives in their farms and outraged them. If any of the women resisted and beat him, he procured their imprisonment on some criminal charge. Presently a charge for embezzlement was preferred against him. He approached the authorities and so arranged that only a deficit of 80 kr. could be proved against him. This, however, did not help him much, because a fresh inquiry revealed the fact that he had embezzled several thousands. For this he was sent to prison. There he fell in with one of his victims, a man who had been arrested and sentenced through his instrumentality. While they were in prison together this man appealed to the conscience of the notary, calling upon him to reflect that he, the convict, had a wife and children, and that he had been innocently imprisoned. The notary relented, and deposed before the examining magistrate that he had procured the imprisonment of this man and many other innocent persons, and that he had committed perjury. And all this he had done because the District Chief had promised him a better post as parish clerk. After all these revelations—because the Government knows how its Pandurs go to work—the Government conferred promotion upon the District Chief who gave the notary his instructions and tempted him with such promises. (From the Zagreb paper *Obzor*, November 1st.)

The greatest sufferers under the present persecution are the Serbs of Bosnia and Hercegovina. Although the official terror is appalling in all the Jugoslav lands, notably in Srem (Syrmia), Bačka, and the Banat, yet the unexampled sufferings of the Serbs in Bosnia and Hercegovina have attracted the special attention of all Jugoslav political factors. The Deputies Dr. Korošec, Slovene; Vjekoslav Spinčić, Croat, from Istria; and Dr. Dušan Baljak, Serbian, from Dalmatia, made a statement in the Vienna Parliament exposing the terrible conditions prevailing in Bosnia and Hercegovina. The Vienna paper, *Die Zeit*, published a harrowing detail from this statement, which was doubtless not permitted to appear in the Jugoslav papers, to the effect that the population of Bosnia and Hercegovina had shrunk from 1,800,000 souls to a bare 1,300,000. As Bosnia and Hercegovina could not possibly have furnished this number of soldiers, this appalling loss of 500,000 lives cannot be put down to losses on the battlefields, but must be attributed to the criminal action of the State, which seeks the extermination of one particular nation. The most salient passages of the statement are as follows:—

The war broke out. Immediately the notorious Head of the Province¹ abrogated all civil and human rights. Absolutely innocent people were imprisoned, or haled away to the casemates of Arad. A vast number of persons were seized as hostages, and many of them were shot without any cause. Potiorek established the so-called "Safety Corps" (*Schutzcorps*, a kind of special constabulary), in which the most doubtful characters were enrolled and provided with arms. Some of them had already been several times convicted of theft, fraud, and looting. It is almost impossible to describe what the absolutely defenceless population had to suffer under the terror of these hordes. Wherever they appeared, rapine, murder, pillage, and incendiaryism were the order of the day. . . . A prejudiced board of bureaucrats round a

¹ General Potiorek,

green table made the most disastrous mistakes, especially with regard to the distribution of foodstuffs. Owing to mistaken regulations and lack of the necessary foresight, it happened that whole districts in Bosnia and Hercegovina were left to starve, and thousands of people have died of hunger. (From the *Slovenec* of July 5th.)

In the name of the Croatian delegates in the Budapest Parliament, the Deputy Guido Hreljanović submitted an interpellation upon Bosnia and Hercegovina. But although the most appalling facts were disclosed, the then Hungarian Premier, Count Esterhazy, curtly and dryly replied "that this interpellation could not be considered."¹ All the Magyar parties applauded him. The interpellation, however, produced such a painful impression in Vienna, that the notorious Austrian agent, Dr. Ivan Frank, felt called upon to say in the Croatian Diet on August 8th : "This interpellation was nothing but a big demonstration for the Jugoslav Idea."¹ On the following day Hreljanović replied : "Deputy Zagorac¹ told me yesterday, after Dr. Frank's speech, that what the Coalition averred in the Budapest interpellation was not the tenth part of what had happened down there. Zagorac authorized me to make this statement."¹ The following passages are quoted from the interpellation :—

In various branches of the administration there has been such abuse of authority where civil liberty, property, and life were concerned, there was such malversation and fraud, that the State found itself compelled to prosecute its own officials and send them to prison. The State ought to be founded upon justice; but in Bosnia justice has fallen so low that faith in it is not only shaken but entirely lost. Down there the Government has created senates to dispense justice, and, contrary to the law, sends them on circuit in the provinces. In Bosnia and

¹ A deputy who practically shares Dr. Frank's political opinions, but has never stooped to the revolting business of a spy and informer.

Hercegovina the Provincial Chief Justice brings direct influence to bear upon the State prosecutors ; he sends for them and gives them orders and instructions. At the Supreme Court in Sarajevo, the conduct of the judicial proceedings is entrusted to judges, one of whom has been several times prosecuted for questionable financial operations, while another has barely escaped dismissal on a criminal charge. These judges give judgment according to instructions received. Thus, the President of the Provincial Court in Sarajevo could afford to boast that, thanks to his judges, conviction had hitherto followed the accusation of the State prosecutor in every case. It has happened in Bosnia that the authorities have so arranged that a given case should come up in the Provincial Court before the very same judge who had already passed sentence in that case in the lower court. In Bosnia judicial proceedings may be entrusted to a judge who has already appeared in the same case in the capacity of State prosecutor. In Bosnia most of the political offenders, many of whom are perfectly innocent, are sentenced with ruthless severity. In Bosnia the law provides that political and press offences are punishable by *custodia honesta*, but the courts pay no attention to this. Political offenders are sentenced to penal servitude and are made to suffer in prison like the worst of criminals ; they not only suffer terrible mental agony, but physical torture from bad food. And all this is so, because the country is subject to an irresponsible anti-constitutional, autocratic regime. This irresponsible authority, supported by the Government, is transferred even to the superior officials, down to the gendarmes, the prison warders, and other Government employees, who go about their business in such a way as to drive the populace to despair.

This, not to speak of the past, is the position of the people of Bosnia and Hercegovina to-day. The food conditions in the country are as bad as can be, because the administration is foreign to the people ; measures are enacted which are the very opposite of what is required, and those most urgently needed are neglected. Thousands of people are starving and dying of hunger. . . . If this state of affairs continues much longer it is to be feared that half the population will perish. This would not only be a misfortune for Bosnia and Hercegovina, but an indelible stain for all time. The fact is that the autocrats of Sarajevo are certain that they will be able to rule with the irresponsible power of the mailed fist in Bosnia for a long time to come yet, wherefore it is the duty of the Government of constitutional Hungary to put an end to this rule. (From the *Hrvatska Riječ*, Zagreb, July 24th.)

Thanks to the indiscretion of Dr. Ivan Frank, the Austrian agent already referred to, a terrible scandal has been revealed in the Croatian Diet. Driven into a corner by accusations and proofs of the fact that during the first days of the war he had sought to incite the mob to a massacre of the Serbs in Zagreb, to looting and incendiarism, he spoke on August 10th to defend himself. Incidentally, he admitted that the Zagreb Chief of Police, Mraović, had tried to persuade him, five days before the ultimatum to procure the assassination of the Serb and Croat leaders and representatives. Dr. Frank spoke as follows :—

In those days of general unrest there was a scheme on foot to assassinate certain Members of the Croato-Serb Coalition, viz. : Dr. Bogdan Medaković, Svetozar Pribičević, Valerjan Pribičević, Dr. Srgjan Budisavljević, and a few others. Certain persons, under the impression that the adherents of the Frank party are

suitable tools, and counting upon a personal enmity, tried to influence me to organize a Black Legion, on the model of the Legion of Death in Serbia (?) *The late Chief of Police in Zagreb, Mr. Mraović, telephoned to me five days before the ultimatum to Serbia was presented*, that a gentleman would call on me, whose proposition he requested me to consider carefully, *as he himself (Mraović) approved of it.*¹ As a matter of fact, the gentleman did call at five o'clock—giving a false name, as I subsequently ascertained—and laid before me a scheme to murder the aforesaid Members of the Croato-Serb Coalition. I told him that, although I was a political opponent of the Coalition, my upbringing and constitutional conscience (!) would not permit me to take part in such an enterprise. In the meantime I gathered that Mr. Mraović wanted to kill two birds with one stone, and so I made an arrangement with my friends, Hrustić, Horvat, and Zatluka, who, with our adherents, watched over and protected Messrs. Medaković, Pribičević, and Budisavljević. (Laughter.) Yes: we did watch over and protect them. *Mr. Mraović said to me later that it was a pity that the gentlemen in question had not been killed.* (From the *Obzor*, Zagreb, August 11th.)

¹ The Zagreb Chief of Police was only carrying out the instructions of the Supreme Military Command.

SPEECH BY DR. A. TRESIĆ PAVIČIĆ

The most detailed and the most terrible indictment of the Austro-Magyar official terror was preferred in the Vienna Parliament on October 19th by Dr. Ante Tresić Pavičić. Unfortunately, only part of the speech was made public. The Vienna Press absolutely ignored it. The Croatian paper, Novosti (Zagreb), gave the first part of the speech in two instalments on October 24th and 25th. But on October 26th the paper announced that the further publication of the speech had been interdicted by the Censor. Judging by the atrocities disclosed in the first part which was passed by the Censor, we can only imagine what the second contained. But what we know is sufficient to reveal the hangman's policy adopted by Austria-Hungary and the Habsburgs towards the Jugoslavs. Dr. A. Tresić Pavičić is one of the most distinguished Croatian writers, who has furthered and defended the Jugoslav Idea both as a poet and as a politician. For this reason he was made the victim of a most infamous persecution as soon as ever the war broke out. He was arrested, thrown into prison, and accused of high treason; he was subsequently sent to an internment camp, and only released a few months before Parliament was convoked. Dr. Tresić Pavičić represents the Dalmatian Isles in the Vienna Parliament. His speech runs:—

WHEN I recently refused to speak, it was not from fear—the interpretation maliciously put upon my reticence by certain persons—but for entirely different reasons. Although I know from personal bitter experience that speech is here only a toy fit for the simple-minded, yet I will nevertheless speak, because the voice of conscience and duty is stronger in me than the instinct

of self-preservation, and the life of my people is dearer to me than my own. Moreover, silence would only be cowardice and a betrayal of every human ideal.

Having suffered to the uttermost limit of endurance during the time I spent in prison, from the influence of the sinister forces which have engineered this horrible war, *I here declare that if by any means I should disappear, the reason for it must not be sought in that I am weary of life, although for three years already death has often appeared to me as a thing very desirable.*

Unfortunately, the speech I am going to make was intended to occupy two hours, and I have been obliged to mutilate it, in order to compress it and deliver it within the limit of half an hour.¹

In this war, as always, our people has been placed in the first line of fire, exposed to the hail of red-hot iron to its complete destruction, while on its native soil it was being systematically exterminated by halter, bullet, and bayonet, dungeon, deportation, imprisonment, and evacuation ; by court-martial, by famine, by concentration camps, and by intentionally induced disease. The persecution of our peoples dates from before the war, and especially from the Sarajevo assassination. At that time, and under the auspices of the authorities, *battues* began to be organized against the Serbs, whose shops were everywhere looted and destroyed. *At that time already many Serbs were done to death.*

The Deputy Ivan Frank has made a statement in the Croatian Parliament to the effect that the Zagreb Chief of Police incited him to cause the Serb leaders to be murdered by the scum of an artificially infuriated population,

¹ It has already been stated elsewhere that Parliament had decided that no deputy should speak longer than half an hour during the Debate on the Budget.

As soon as the war broke out, the tempest of extermination of all Jugoslav patriots began to rage. Throughout the land one heard nothing but wailing and cries of distress. One saw nothing but hideous sights as though the plague had passed. Every morning and evening a venal Press, led by the *Naše Jedinstvo*, of Split (Spalato), published invented accounts of attempts made by Serbs to wreck by bombs trains, railway lines, ships, and other means of communication, in order to justify the draconic measures adopted by the various authorities. All whose national sentiment was awake, conscious, and honest, were arrested, interned, cast into prison, ruined, condemned, executed ; all who were too young or too old were doomed to die of hunger ; and the rest were intimidated, demoralized, and outraged.

In Dubrovik (Ragusa) alone and during the course of a single day, 75 persons were arrested. Never before was such lamentation heard within the walls of the noble city, save on the day of the great earthquake that destroyed it long ago.

In ancient Athens there was an altar on the Acropolis dedicated to the goddess of Charity. The supermen of to-day have driven pity from their hearts as a hurtful weakness, so that they may destroy all who refuse to bow to their will. *Preparations had been made long beforehand* at a given moment to send all the leaders of the people to the casemates in order to use them as hostages, to cut them to pieces so as to be able to turn the people into helots.

When, after three months of imprisonment in Maribor (Marburg), I was brought up before a judge, the latter said to me : " *I don't know what the charge is against you, and this you will easily understand when you consider that in Dalmatia, Istria, and Carniola alone we have arrested*

more than five thousand persons." I leave it to you to imagine how many persons have been arrested in Bosnia, in Hercegovina, in Slavonia, and in South Hungary.

As we were herded on board in Split by the hundred together with criminals of the worst type; as we were led in Rieka (Fiume) to the station through a torrential rain, so that we had not a dry stitch left upon us; as we travelled for four days and nights via Zagreb and Budapest to Maribor in filthy coaches, without food, without sleep, exposed to the insults of the Magyar mob, exposed, like Serbian prisoners, to blows from the butt-ends of rifles and curses from the enraged Magyar soldiery, there were *many who lost their reason* from the shock. With my own eyes I saw one poor wretch leap from the window of the train going at full speed out into the darkness of night and death. At the end of those four sleepless nights we were locked up in the stables of a riding-school, whence a few days later more than a hundred cartloads of horse-manure were taken away. On this manure we had to lie down and sleep, half-suffocated by the smell of urine. With our own eyes we saw the soldiers spit into the cauldron containing the soup we were to eat. (Astonishment among the deputies.)

However, I do not want to speak of Maribor and Graz, because I do not wish to speak of my own sufferings. I must, however, single out Imperial Councillor Dr. Hoffman, prison doctor in Graz, who mercilessly taunted the wretched prisoners and used to tell them that *it would be better to poison traitors who were loth to die a natural death*. Many of the prisoners *succumbed* to their sufferings in Maribor and Graz. One of these was poor Denić, whom the gendarmes beat to death with the butt-ends of their rifles; another was Puškarević, and a third Bušić,

who was granted an order of release on the very day of his funeral.

But the fate of those who were confined in Mostar, Doboj, and Arad was infinitely more terrible. Two of my informants, who had been in Mostar and subsequently shared my fate in Maribor, told me of what had happened there. I am referring to the deputy *Ivo Lupis* and the publicist *Domić*.

In Mostar (Hercegovina), the prisoners slept in a basement, on the floor, crowded one on top of the other, together with thieves, cut-throats, and gipsies. The famous bucket was always full, and overflowed on the floor upon which they had to move, sleep, and eat. (Cries.) The greatest horror of this dungeon was the gaoler, *Kasper Scholler*. This individual, armed with an iron crook, which he nicknamed the *Kronprinz*, used to call on his unhappy charges more often than the latter found desirable, and belaboured them recklessly about the head and shoulders with his *Kronprinz*, while the blood ran down the faces of his victims. I refrain from dwelling upon the insults, the gross bestiality of his invective, his fiendish yells of rage. *Money alone could for a moment placate the ferocity of this Cerberus and close his jaws.* This detachment of prisoners included *Rista Radulović*, editor of the *Narod*, and the Orthodox priest *Tichy*, who eventually succumbed in Arad to the injuries inflicted by this savage brute. *Tichy*, in the kindness of his heart, gave a tiny part of his own portion to his famished fellow-prisoners, which so enraged *Scholler* that he struck out so unmercifully with his *Kronprinz* that the priest became unconscious. Blood poured over his shoulders and chest from the blows he had received, for the *crook of the Kronprinz had torn away great strips of skin.* *Tichy* truly died a martyr's death.

Eventually, some of these poor wretches were transferred to the upper floors, where those were confined who were to serve as hostages. The words *hostage* and *traitor* were deemed synonymous. Ordinary thieves and cut-throats were looked upon with more favour than they. The most notable and the best educated among the population were taken as hostages. Only very few of these contrived to play their part to the end and save their skins. As a rule they were, by order of some officer, taken from the casemates to the courtyard, where each of them was handed over to two Moslems armed to the teeth. The officer then proceeded in a loud voice to instruct the guards for half an hour, pointing out all the cases in which they must kill the hostage. "*At the slightest sound, plunge the bayonet into his heart. If you hear the crack of a rifle in the woods, blow out his brains. If he should turn to the left, shoot him. If he makes a movement towards the right, cut him in pieces.*" And the Moslem guard did not stand in need of these encouragements.

The hostages were selected at night. The loathsome face of Scholler, the gaoler, set in a frame of bayonets that gleamed like mortuary candles, entered silently as, like a tiger, he sought out and pounced upon his victims. Ulysses' companions in the cave of Polyphemus experienced no greater horror when the monster tried to discover by the touch which of them was the fattest, than did these poor wretches beneath the bloodshot eye of this inhuman monster. The hair of more than one of them was bleached in a single night with terror. Yesterday they were men in the prime of youth, to-day old men bent with age. Such as desired to prolong their miserable life for a few days indicated by gestures how many bank-notes they were prepared to sacrifice. To be taken as

a hostage was equal to a sentence of death. *Hundreds perished in this way.* Owing to the pressure of time, I will only quote two. As the convoy halted in Raštelica, a certain *Damić* was shot as a hostage without further ado. On the route Doboј-Tuzla, the priest *George Petrović* was murdered without trial or sentence.

The rest of the prisoners were transferred from Mostar to Arad, where there were already thousands of living skeletons from Bosnia-Hercegovina and Srem (Syrmia). Throughout their journey the Magyar mob reviled them, spat in their faces, and pelted them with stones. Famished, half-naked, and half-dead, goaded along by bayonet thrusts and blows from the butt-ends of rifles, they were driven like cattle into the casemates of this fortress, which were alive with bugs and fleas. No sooner did they try to go to sleep than they were roused by an invasion from this vermin, which infested their bodies and their clothes.

In these subterranean galleries, the unhappy prisoners could not feel cold, because they were crowded together like sardines ; the air was thick with a tepid mist, as in a vapour bath, and the light of the electric lamps flickered dimly through the fog. Being obliged to sleep packed together against the two sides of this fairly narrow tunnel, they were unable to lie at full length without their feet coming into contact. Before long, spotted typhus, "tif," or *tunnelitis terribilis*, as the poor wretches called it in their humour of despair, broke out among the prisoners. At first there were only two or three deaths a day ; but later on they died in numbers. When the cold weather came, *the dead were stripped in order to cover the living who lacked clothes.* Some of the sick in their delirium crept away and hid in the straw in some corner, and two or three days would elapse before the odour of putrescence betrayed their whereabouts. The corpses

were thrown anyhow into carts. Some gipsy would lead the procession with the cross in his hands and a hideous, cynical smile on his lips, while the Magyar soldiers yelled around the carts and shouted as if they had taken a whole enemy company prisoner. *It was a veritable witches' sabbath, which filled the hearts of the spectators with loathing and horror.*

The food was uneatable. Many remained for days without food, as they were not able to retain it. . . . There was no water, as a rule, but on the other hand plenty of alcohol, as the warden Rosner had an eye to business. The poor wretches drank to stupefy themselves, to forget life and in the hope of passing a few days earlier to the cold earth from that fetid atmosphere and the rotting straw, infected by typhus microbes. *The number of those who died in Arad is estimated at from three to four thousand.* Many died shortly after their release in consequence of the sufferings they had undergone. Of these I will only single out the merchant Kondić, of Gradiška, who had just strength enough to reach his home and take to his bed, from which he did not rise again. As witnesses of all these horrors I would mention George Dimić, sub-prefect of the district of Gradiška in Bosnia, and Vladimir Kujundžić and Jovo Malić, both medical men, who were also interned in Arad.

Matters were even worse in Doboj. The surroundings of this town have become the greatest graveyard of the guiltless victims of this horrible epoch. The 27th of December, 1915, saw the arrival in Doboj of the first convoy of Serbian and Montenegrin prisoners, accompanied by large numbers of people from Bosnia and Hercegovina who had been obliged to quit their homes near the frontier. Women, old men, children, all were compelled to travel in open cattle-trucks, exposed to the

cold, the wind and the rain, hunger, thirst, and want of sleep. Yet all these sufferings were nothing beside the necessity of satisfying the calls of nature in the trucks, the women under the eyes of the men and *vice versa.* (Cries of horror.)

They were locked up in sheds which had been used previously as a veterinary hospital and were infected with all kinds of equine diseases, and full of manure, having never been either disinfected or cleaned. Lumbar pains, spotted typhus, small-pox, and cholera soon made their appearance. Everything was infested by every kind of vermin. *Then the warders has an access of pity. They ordered the women to strip to their skins and took pleasure in shaving the hair off every part of their bodies, despite their cries and lamentations. Then they plastered their private parts with some kind of grease and that most thoroughly, so great was their solicitude for the cleanliness of these unhappy women.* (Cries.)

In accordance with a confidential order from the Military Command in Sarajevo, recommending that the prisoners should be treated with the greatest possible harshness and severity, the warders did their best to send their unfortunate charges into the next world. *The most convenient and most profitable method was to starve them.* Women with four or five children were only given one loaf in five days. They were not even given bowls for their soup, but were obliged to receive their food in filthy tins, which had contained canned food. And what food ! When Dr. Geber saw the soup with which they were served, he had two or three tinsfuls poured out in order to find out what manner of liquid it might be, and he added that *he would not have allowed his boots even to be washed in such dirty water.* The children wailed and cried to their mothers for bread, and the mothers

had nothing to give them but tears. Often the mother was already dead, while the child was still shaking her, weeping and asking her for bread.

At first there were from *fifteen to twenty deaths* a day among the prisoners. On April 5, 1916, *there were 92 deaths in the one day*. The bodies were piled in heaps and carted openly by daylight through the streets of Doboj, to the consternation of the inhabitants. According to an approximate estimate by reliable persons, *more than 8,000 innocent victims were done to death there*. I could give you the names of many witnesses of the horrors of Doboj. Not having the time to do so, I will merely mention that of the priest *Slavko Trninić*.

The autocrat of Bosnia, General Potiorek, had given orders to remove all Serbs of Bosnia-Hercegovina from the frontier. His orders were conscientiously carried out, and *any one venturing to oppose them was killed on the spot*. The inhabitants of the village of *Sirče* were all removed, both young and old. When they arrived at Mount *Rudo*, their escort ordered them to halt and compelled them *to dig their own graves and lie down in them quietly, each in his own grave*. *Many women lay down in their graves with their children in their arms*. *The soldiers did not shoot them all at once, but one by one*. *The survivors had to shovel earth upon the dead until it came to be their turn to have their graves filled in by the soldiers, who thus saved themselves all trouble*. (Cries of consternation.)

Near *Samirovac*, the soldiers in November 1914, by order of their officers, *killed sixteen notable men* of the neighbourhood, including the priest *Trifko Maksimović*, saying to their victims that they were sure of obtaining *the retrospective sanction of the death sentence*.

In *Čelebić*, in the district of *Foča*, *the entire male population from fourteen to sixty years of age was cut to pieces*,

by the soldiery, without any form of trial. The priest, Vladimir Popović, was hanged beforehand as a hostage.

According to the deputy *Kosta Majkić*, close upon ten thousand persons were admitted into the military prison of Sarajevo alone, not counting those who were hanged.

In September 1914, two days after the Serbian army left the village of Kupinovo, the Magyar frontier-guards at once arrested the entire adult population. Next day, the prisoners were taken in carts towards *Bričko* in Bosnia. When they came to the cemetery, the officer commanding the patrol ordered one of the drivers to take the vehicle to the cemetery while the others went on their way. The frontier-guards—the *shtrafun*, as they are called—lined up five of the local notabilities, and, in order to save cartridges, ran them through with their bayonets. The unfortunate men fell, still living, to the ground and prayed for mercy. The *shtrafun* gave them the *coup de grâce* with their bayonets. The five victims were: *Miša Radosavejević*, called Šaban, mayor of Kuminovo, *Grmuša* and *Ljupko Vlasić*, *Nikola Radić* and *Mezinjanin*. It must not be forgotten that, before leaving Juminovo, the *shtrafun* set fire to twenty houses, so that the condemned men, in leaving their dear native land, could see their way lit up by the flames that were destroying their own homes.

The Forest Inspector of *Petrovaradin* (Peterwardein), *Obrad Peićić*, was secretly murdered by soldiers in his own house. He was shot through the window. The priest *Steva Iovanović Ravina*, of *Donji Tovarnik*, was taken away by the soldiers to *Irig*. There the party was met by two officers, who whispered something to one of the escort; the man at once led the priest to some distance from the high-road and shot him. The priest *Boško Momirović* of *Brestač* in Srem (Syrmia) was hanged without trial, together with the mayor and clerks of the

commune. *The bodies were burnt.* The priest *Dajanović*, a female teacher, and five other persons, all of Beška, were taken to Petrovaradin, where *the whole seven of them were shot.* In the village of *Golubinci*, the soldiers drove the inhabitants at the point of the bayonet into the courtyard of the school, and shot them down like hares at a shooting "drive" (*Kesseltreiben*). Cries, lamentations, and moans mingled with the cracks of the rifles.

I will confine myself to mentioning the names of a few educated men among the victims, because I should never get through the peasants' names. Imagination refuses to conceive all the various ways in which these people were killed. *They were mown down by machine-guns.* *They were drowned in the Save.* *They were tied to hay-ricks, which were set on fire.* *Many of these innocent victims remained unburied for weeks and their eyes were pecked out by ravens.*

At Zemun (Semlin), Professor *Dušan Savić* was killed in his own house. He was robbed of 50,000 crowns, and his body was thrown into the Drave.

In the neighbourhood of Zubac 82 persons were hanged at once, without trial; in *Trebinje*, 103 in all, for the conclusive reason that they were local notabilities; 71 persons were hanged in Foča for the same reason. I cannot tell you the number of persons hanged in Sarajevo, Bjelina, Srebrenica, Zvornik, Avtovac, Višegrad, Bilek, etc., as I have not been able to make inquiries. What I do know positively, however, is that there, too, the halter has not been spared. A single Hungarian battalion was supplied with 1,000 metres (yards) of rope, when it was sent from Sarajevo to the frontier. In *Tuzla*, 300 Serbian corpses were seen hanging on the trees. The entire Serbo-Montenegrin frontier has been almost denuded of its population, and, like the Palatinate in the time of

Louis XIV, it has been turned into a desert. It is said that General Potiorek signed 3,500 death warrants with his own hand. (Cries of indignation.)

Only two or three innocent victims from Dalmatia have been spoken of. Captain *Hadžija*, of Albić, was summoned by telegram to Cattaro, in order to give evidence against *Srzentić*, first mate on board his ship. Captain Hadžija had just been home for two days to see his wife, who was expecting a child, and his child aged two. The ship's engineer had accused *Srzentić* of having uttered Serbophil sentiments, which was tantamount to the crime of high treason. Being asked whether he had heard such expressions from *Srzentić*, Hadžija replied in the negative, but added that at one time and another, at table, *they had criticized the prejudiced attitude of the Austrian Government towards the Southern Slavs*. For the statement, the prosecutor extended his accusation to the witness. Both defendants were convicted and executed within three hours. Hadžija vainly protested his innocence. *He was compelled to walk in his own funeral procession behind the bier, which was carried on in front, while the priest chanted the funeral service*. He collapsed several times, and had to be dragged along until the bullets of the firing party put an end to his sufferings. (Loud cries.)

The same fate befel Onisim Popović.¹ As his case is generally known, I will not dwell on it any longer.

¹ Onisim Popović, a highly respected peasant from the neighbourhood of Knin—in fact, the mayor of the commune—was brought up before a court-martial at the beginning of the war, on the strength of information laid against him, and shot. Some time afterwards his accuser fell ill, and before his death confessed that he had falsely accused Popović. The military authorities decided that some reparation was due to Popović, and ordered the regimental band to play the Austrian Imperial Hymn on his grave! (From the *Obzor*, August 18th.)

Vranjičan, the doctor of Hvar (*Lesina*), was imprisoned on suspicion of having conscientiously tended the Serbian sick who arrived in Hvar. For this he was accused of Serbophilism. He was imprisoned in the fortress of Sarajevo. His sufferings in the fortress must have been indescribable, because, when he was set at liberty—his innocence having been proved—he committed suicide at a hotel in Sarajevo, in an access of temporary insanity. Yet he was a man of fine character, who had never shown any sign of mental weakness. In prison, however, he learnt to loathe life so completely that, forgetting his wife and his young children, he committed a double suicide. He first took a large dose of poison, and then blew out his brains with a revolver.

The evacuated Istrians died like flies of hunger, cold, spotted typhus, and other diseases in Leibnitz, in Gmünden, in Möllersdorf, etc. *Ljubomir Nikolić*, a Catholic priest, of Istria, wrote a letter to the Croatian papers, in which he states that he alone blessed the corpses of more than 2,000 evacuated Croats from Istria in Möllersdorf. I was told by one of my informants that in one single day and one single shed in Leibnitz he counted the dead bodies of 41 Croat children. The Montenegrin medical student, *Bajca Martinić*, says that he saw more than 8,000 evacuated Croats from Istria die in Styria.

The rest of this poignant speech was suppressed by the Censor.

The leading Croatian paper, Hrvatska Država, in its issue of October 26th, comments as follows upon the indictment by the deputy Tresić Pavičić :—

The atrocities disclosed in the Austrian Parliament by the deputy Tresić Pavičić have horrified even those who were in *fractione panis*. . . . We shall return to

this speech when it has been published in full. We draw attention to the fact that certain German papers already aver that the speech was made *to help the Entente*.

While these horrors were being perpetrated, the powers that be kept silence because they were to their advantage ; now that they are being divulged they are terrified, and say that all this helps the Entente.

Their horror, therefore, is not due to the facts in themselves, but solely to the publicity afforded them. The morals of certain "privileged nations" are really quite peculiar.

CONCLUSION

THE unexampled atrocities which the Jugoslavs have had to suffer in the present war are worthy, as regards ferocity, of comparison with the blackest days of Turkish barbarism. But they have failed to satisfy the Germans and the Magyars. The Pan-German deputy Heine said in the Vienna Parliament : "The Jugoslavs are so proud and haughty because too few of them are hanged." The Magyar deputy Smrecsanyi, on March 22nd, clamoured openly in the Budapest Parliament for the gallows for the six Croat and Serb deputies there, and demanded the most drastic regime for Croatia. A similar spirit pervades the Press of Vienna and Budapest. The object of these threats of even worse persecution is to smother every trace of national consciousness and resistance in the Jugoslavs, in so far as they are not physically exterminated. But all this has only produced the opposite effect. To quote but one instance, the Zagreb paper *Novosti* wrote the following on September 11th under the heading "Scarecrows for Children" :—"We have an old saw : In one village they threaten, and in the other they are not afraid. . . . Are we perhaps to fear for our personal liberty and safety ? But why ? Perhaps too few of us are shot, too few of us imprisoned, condemned, interned, incarcerated, and hanged. Perhaps too few of our districts have been entirely plundered, burnt, harried, sucked dry, depopulated. Truly, the appetite of your honour-

able deputy Heine is not yet appeased. And if you, gentlemen, have such cannibalistic cravings, such a thirst befitting the Stone Age, pray continue. The proceeding is quite simple: denunciation, summary sentence, and the slender gallows, and, with luck, after the gallows—the band on one's grave."

An even stronger expression of this national feeling was recently given in the very town of Zagreb by the celebrated Croatian poet, Ivo Vojnović, the staunchest apostle of Jugoslav unity. From the beginning of the war Austria has tortured him more than most of her victims. He was imprisoned, he was dragged as a hostage along with the military transports, then interned, and, when health was completely broken down, transferred to the hospital. One eye he lost in prison, and it is feared that he will lose the other one also. The town of Zagreb decided to celebrate the sixtieth birthday of the martyr and poet on October 9th by a festival in the theatre, of which he was intendant and dramatic manager. Amid tempestuous acclamations from the assembled crowd the poet spoke as follows: "When I see you thus roused, thus at the heights of enthusiasm, not because of myself, but because of the Idea which you are making manifest at this moment, I call to mind the old prince in my Trilogy,¹ when he asks: 'Why hasn't the devil taken you yet? Why are your lips not struck dumb with horror at what we are passing through? Why are your hands not turned to stone, but you are still able to clap and shout and exult in that because of which we all suffer?' Eh! gentlemen, if I were to meet my prince, I should say to him: 'No; he hasn't taken us yet—and he isn't going to, either!'"

¹ One of the poet's finest plays.

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